

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE IDEOLOGICAL
BATTLE AGAINST COMMUNISM**

Zeb D. Alford

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by
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ABSTRACT

The Communist campaign for world domination consists of three battles--military, economic, and ideological. If we lose any of these three battles, the Free World will be engulfed by Communism. This thesis is concerned with the ideological battle. The techniques of Operations Analysis are used to analyze this ideological battle with Communism. The analysis consists of determining the "ideal" and "practical" models of Communism in order to reveal the basic strengths and weaknesses of Communism in this ideological battle. An investigation of the long-range purpose of America in this battle is made in order to construct a measure of effectiveness by which various feasible courses of action may be selected. If America is to lead the Free World to victory in the ideological battle with Communism, America must assume the offensive in this battle. Several positive courses of action for accomplishing this are discussed.

This thesis was written during the period September 1956 to May 1957, at the U. S. Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. I wish to express my gratitude to the Navy for affording me the opportunity to write this thesis; to Professor C. C. Torrance for convincing me that a thesis of this nature could be attempted using methods of Operations Analysis, for the many hours he devoted to discussing the associated problems, and for the capable assistance he gave me throughout this period; to Vice Admiral Charles A. Lockwood, USN (Ret.), Los Gatos, California for his interest in and encouragement to undertake this analysis; to Miss C. C. Starr, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, for the information, comments, and ideas that she gave so gladly; to Professor E. J. Stewart for his valuable assistance as second reader; and to Mrs. Mary Hansen for her cheerful and painstaking clerical assistance.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The primary battle between Communism and America is going to be a battle of ideology--a war for the minds of men. This war will be fought with every known weapon available, and there is little doubt that weapons not yet envisioned will be thrown into this life or death struggle. The introduction of "brain washing" in the Korean War may bear the same relation to future ideological weapons as the introduction of gunpowder did to atomic weapons in the military battles. The assertion that the primary battle with Communism will be an ideological struggle is based on two important assumptions:

- a. The basic assumption that American military strength will provide a check on the use of Russian armed might throughout this period of ideological conflict.
- b. The basic assumption that American economic strength will prevent Russian economic domination of the Free World throughout this period of ideological conflict.

In order for the Free World--led by America--to defeat the Communist campaign for world domination, three crucial battles must be won--the military battle, the economic battle, and the ideological battle. The Free World must win all three battles, while Russia needs only to win any one of the three decisively, and she wins the other two by default. Furthermore, the Communist dictatorship has the additional advantage of choosing the time, place, and manner of commencing each battle. Now these advantages that Russia possesses impose upon us of the Free World a tremendous responsibility if the rising tide of Communism is to be prevented from

engulfing us. As leader of the Free World against this Communist campaign, America has the responsibility and the opportunity to provide the dynamic leadership necessary to win all three of these crucial battles.

Mr. William H. Hessler has pointed out in an article¹ in the "U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings" that America has recognized its responsibilities in the economic and military battle against Communism. Some of the primary steps in shouldering these responsibilities since the end of World War II were: The maintenance of forces in Europe after World War II; the entry of America into the United Nations; the Truman Doctrine of 1947 by which military and economic aid were given to Greece and Turkey; the Marshall Plan of 1948; aid to Yugoslavia in her defection from the Soviet bloc; the formation of NATO in 1949 which has brought into strategic concentration the military and economic resources of fifteen Western nations against the Communist threat of the Soviet bloc; the immediate economic and military support given South Korea in 1950 when that nation was attacked by the Communists; the ANZUS Alliance; the support of Formosa; the Japanese Alliance of 1951; the inclusion of the German Federal State in NATO in 1954; the expansion of America's own military power; and finally, the Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East. Thus we see that America has taken positive steps to rally the full economic and military potential of the free nations of the world in order to establish our security on the solid foundation of superior power. But, even this tremendous effort is not enough if America is to prevent the Communists from winning the world via the ideological battleground.

¹William H. Hessler, American Foreign Policy, Patient Courage Pays Off, January 1956 issue of U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings

Indeed, the entire thesis of those who place their faith only in military and economic power collapses as soon as one turns to the writings and pronouncements of the prophets of Communism. From Marx to Khrushchev, these prophets have been unanimous in their affirmation that Communism can, and will, capture men's minds. In the eyes of its leaders, the real power and hope of the Communist movement lies in the very thing that Americans tend to discount--its ideology. Many Americans reply that this leadership is intellectually and morally corrupt, hence not to be believed. This may be so; but before proceeding to shape policies on which the fate of civilization itself may rest, it is well to examine assumptions. The accent placed by the Communists upon the use of force may produce the impression that they are really concerned with nothing else. No good Communist will hesitate to use force when the occasion demands it, but neither will he take action without reference to the official ideology. There is, indeed, a closer tie between ideas and action in the Communist world than there is in the Free World. In view of this fact it is foolhardy to dismiss their ideology as something of no importance.

*yes, it is
what's wrong
with Communism*

The ideological battle is a many-faceted and complex struggle. Countless slogans, dissertations, and propaganda campaigns have been promulgated by both the Communists and the Free World in an attempt to rally support for their respective stands and objectives. But, in our crisis-to-crisis approach to the solution of the greatest problems our nation has yet faced, we are failing to emphasize the Communist's weakest points in this ideological battle. Assuming that the determining phase of the ideological battle is to be one of ideas, then an inescapable duty of America during this period of conflict is to analyze the primary ideological strengths and weaknesses of Communism in order to prepare ourselves

to fight this battle as vigorously, as determinedly, and as victoriously as our other battles have been fought.

It is accepted procedure in the athletic world for coaches to prepare their teams for contests by "scouting" their opponents. Every coach wants his team to know what it will be up against long before the referee blows his whistle and signals for the beginning of the game. Even so, when the half-time comes, both the coach and the team know more about the strength and weakness of the opposition than they did before the game started. Finally, victory has gone to many a team simply because during the half-time interval strategy and tactics were changed in accordance with the bitter lessons learned during the first half of the game.

During the past few years, a global conflict has been raging between the nations of the Free World and Communism. Because of our tremendous build-up of military and economic strength, it might be said that both teams are now resting at "half-time" with the final "show-down" period destined to start in a few minutes. Thus far in the contest we have been ineffective. The enemy has rushed at random through soft spots in the line, making gains which we thought were utterly impossible. Our offense has been deplorable. The enemy has diagnosed our running plays and thrown us for severe losses. We have thrown passes only to have them end up in the arms of the opposition. When scoring opportunities have been ours, we have bogged down and fumbled the ball. Thus far we have been playing like a bunch of children because, before the contest started, we made no effort to scout the opposition. We didn't think that he was in our class or that he would ever challenge us to a contest. We now have more respect for his power, skill, and deception than we had a short time ago. During this half-time breathing spell, we must hurriedly size up our

opponent, plan our strategy anew, and enter the final phase of the contest knowing that the score is heavy against us and that we are doomed to defeat unless we plan a different kind of game.

What have we learned thus far in the conflict and what must we know and remember as we go into the final period of play if we are to embrace any hope of victory?

First of all, we know that we are not playing against a bunch of inept amateurs under the guidance of a second-rate coach. Among our opponents are the keenest and shrewdest minds. We are playing against professionals who have been perfecting their plays and conducting a theoretical analysis of the strategy and tactics of this battle for over a hundred years. The first half has been a dirty game. We have encountered forces of evil not met before. One of our major weaknesses in fighting against Communism lies in the fact that we have made little or no effort to understand the origin of evil.

We have engaged the forces of evil in a previous game this season. Nazism was an evil movement. The Nazis were physically strong, superbly organized, efficient, intelligent, zealous, possessed of scientific skill, motivated by a sense of superiority, a flaming hatred of all who were not of Nordic ancestry, and a determination to dominate the entire world. The Nazis were not weak. They were strong. They were not moral degenerates, a nation of stew-bums and pathetic derelicts. They were capable, organized, and disciplined.

So it is with Communism, with this exception! The Nazis had a narrow racial and nationalistic outlook. The Communists on the other hand accept and embrace all men regardless of racial, nationalistic, or cultural backgrounds. Thus they are far stronger and more dangerous than was Nazism because they have made an heretical interpretation of the Christian tenet

of the brotherhood of man.

Second, we have learned thus far in this conflict that Communism is more than a system demanding political and economic reforms--it is a religion of atheism. It provides a dream of a new kind of man that will form the classless, stateless, heaven-on-earth society which Communism promises. This dream is the direct offspring and heir of the heady eighteenth century doctrine wherein the cardinal article of faith was the perfectibility of man as a social being. Marxism is the same dream, dressed in modern clothes--a messianic vision, the essence of which cannot be reduced to rational terms, and the purpose of which is to change mankind from top to bottom. This purpose is in fact a religious purpose. It is evident to the world, as it was not to the eighteenth century, that this secular, social religion is of necessity and with violence opposed to the Christian religion, out of which so many of its ideals originally sprang. For Marxist salvation is not of the soul but of the body politic. It is a material salvation in social terms. Communism must be recognized as a religion of atheism for these reasons:

- a. It provides life with meaning for its followers.
- b. It commands their highest and unreserved devotion. No sacrifice for the cause is too great, not even that of martyrdom.
- c. It affirms that it has the only solution to the problems of men and that it is the hope of a better world.
- d. It has its sacred book--Das Kapital by Karl Marx.
- e. It has its shrines and sacred places to which the faithful make reverent pilgrimages.
- f. It has its savior in the proletariat and its devil in the capitalistic system which it equates with Christianity.

- g. It has an authoritative system which interprets life for its followers, telling them what to do and how to think on politics, economics, art, religion, family life, and every other subject.
- h. It has a secularized version of heaven--the perfect society which will be set up on this earth when the proletarian revolution has succeeded.
- i. In their religious zeal, the Communists are sending apostles throughout the world in a manner comparable to ~~that~~ of the Christians.

A third thing we have learned thus far in the contest is this: We have been careless in our own spiritual training.

One of the very foundation stones upon which this great nation of ours is built is a belief in God and the principles of Christianity. These basic elements of our civilization's strength have been challenged by the Communists from the first writings of Karl Marx to the latest oppression of Cardinal Mindszenty during the Hungarian revolution against the tyranny of Communism. If we are to have any hopes of success in an ideological battle with Communism, we must be fully as dedicated to our cause as the Russian Communists are to theirs. In particular, we must devote the time and effort to understanding their strengths and weaknesses, just as they have so successfully devoted time and effort to understanding ours. We entered the contest with smug confidence. Our strength, if it can be called strength, in this ideological contest was confined largely to pious slogans: "In God we trust"--"All men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights"--"That this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom."

Finally, we have learned this about the Communists: They took the ball right out of our arms and ran for a touchdown in dealing with the

backward, underprivileged people of this earth. One hundred and fifty years ago this land of ours represented to everyone the land of opportunities for the oppressed peoples of the world. This nation opened its arms to the unwanted and downtrodden peoples of the world. One hundred years ago the Christian missionary movement was a swelling tide. Our representatives went out into the uttermost regions of the earth. They went with conviction and compassion proclaiming the brotherhood of man.

Following in the wake of the missionaries came our merchants and engineers. Often these groups exploited the people and their natural resources, taking advantage of them at every opportunity. When the natives rebelled, the Marines were sent in to protect our economic interests and investments.

Then came the Communists speaking of justice, equality, brotherhood, a better world, a classless society, offering land reforms, economic opportunities, and pointing out that all troubles were due to the Christian civilization of the capitalists. Yes, the Communists came calling the underprivileged "Comrades" and the people responded because we had not treated them as brothers.

How are we to seek out the strong and weak points of Communism in this short respite available to us? What methods of analysis lend themselves to a problem of this scope? Before the next half begins, is it possible to develop a rational approach to an ideological battle with so formidable an opponent?

Man has attained control over many potent forces in the past two centuries--chemical energy, electric energy, and nuclear energy. Most of these have been physical. A new force that is now coming into our control is mental--it is the new discipline called Operations Analysis.

An operation is defined as any action taken for some purpose. Operations Analysis² is a discipline for planning actions most effectively for some purpose. So far, this new discipline has been mainly concerned with narrow, technical application such as weapons development, military systems analysis, inventory control, and utilization of manpower. During the war years and the decade following, the technique of Operations Analysis has found wide-spread acceptance in the Armed Forces, industry, and government. But this discipline contains within it some simple basic concepts that may be applied effectively to all human affairs with little mathematical or scientific training.

In order to apply the techniques of Operations Analysis to any problem, several basic requirements must be met:

First, a statement of the problem to be analyzed must be complete enough to indicate the limits of the analysis and the factors to be considered in it--in particular, the purpose to be achieved.

Secondly, a "model" of the system under analysis must be devised in order to examine the effects that various courses of action will have on this model.

Finally, a "measure of effectiveness" is needed by which the various courses of action can be evaluated and the most effective course (courses) picked from all those available as the one to use in solving the problem.

In this paper I propose to use the Operations Analysis approach to analyze the strengths and weaknesses of Communism for the purpose of deciding how best to wage the ideological battle with Communism.

Much of the confusion in the Free World that arises in the ideological

²Professor C. C. Torrance, U. S. Naval Postgraduate School, definition in paper titled, Our Next Jinni, (unpublished)

battle against Communism comes from the lack of appreciation of what Communism is, what its aims are, what its strengths are, and what its inherent weaknesses are. For this reason, the construction of a "model" of Communism is most important. In preparing this paper, a fact of paramount importance became evident. In our past ideological battles with Communism we have failed to distinguish clearly between the "ideal model" of Communism and the "practical model" of Communism. In order to analyze Communism with any degree of rationality, it is necessary that an "ideal model" be constructed and evaluated; but, it is of equal importance that the "practical model" of Communism also be constructed and evaluated. It is the lack of distinction between the "ideal" and "practical" models that has caused us to be outplayed and outmaneuvered in most of our previous ideological battles. We have been comparing the "ideal model" of Communism to the "practical model" of western civilization.

CHAPTER II

THE "IDEAL MODEL" OF COMMUNISM

"from each according to his abilities to each according to his needs"

The "ideal model" of Communism was proposed by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels over a hundred years ago in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party." This remarkable document has had more effect upon the world than any other idea published since that time. Over a century of application of the ideas contained in this model have caused very little change to the "ideal model" of Communism. Current world events are explainable in terms of the model.

The first concept that is basic to the "ideal model" of Communism is that of classes and of class struggle. This model interprets the history of all previous societies in the light of class struggle. This model points out that the proletariat³ is a product of the industrial revolution and claims that this is the only truly revolutionary class today. The basic distinction made between the proletariat as a revolutionary class and all previous revolutionary classes is an important one.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interests of minorities. The proletarian movement is the independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.⁴

It is because of this assumption in the model that the strategy of world revolution becomes necessary.

³"Proletariat" is defined as the class of modern wage-laborers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor power in order to live

⁴"Manifesto of the Communist Party", Marx and Engels

The basic goal that is set forth in this model is the creation of a classless society in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all. The strategy by which this goal is to be reached is clearly defined and has not changed in the past century. The strategy is to foment a world revolution of the working class in order to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The proletariat will then use its political supremacy to divest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie;⁵ to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible. This model defines political power as the organized power of one class for oppressing another. A basic assumption stated in this "ideal model" of Communism is that the revolution, by which the dictatorship of the proletariat will be established, will, by eliminating the bourgeois methods of production, sweep away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby abolish its own supremacy as a class. This is, indeed, a remarkable assumption--within it lies the tremendous appeal of Communism--and because of it a "practical model" of Communism is necessary. The Russian leaders in the Kremlin have had to do some fast talking to by-pass this assumption. The three conditions they declare to be necessary before this assumption is fulfilled render its culmination probably about the same time "shrimps learn to whistle." But, more about this later.

The next basic concept of the "ideal model" of Communism is the Communists' party itself. In the words of Marx and Engels:

The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties. They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole. They do not

⁵"Bourgeoisie" is defined as the class of modern Capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage-labor

set up any sectarian principles of their own by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement. The Communists are distinguished from the other working class parties by this only:

1. In the national struggle of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat independently of all nationality.
2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interest of the movement as a whole.

Thus it is seen that this "ideal model" of Communism does more than just point out the need for and the path to world revolution, it also provides the leadership necessary to direct and control this gigantic undertaking. It is a basic tenet of this model that the theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented or discovered by a would-be universal reformer. Rather, these conclusions express in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle that is currently underway in the world. In short, the Communist party is given the position of leadership in the historic world revolution. Because of this position of leadership, the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things. In every movement, they bring to the front the question of abolition of private property.

The tactics to be used in carrying out the basic strategy of world revolution are defined in general terms that have permitted a wide range of application. Stalin⁶ has defined tactics as follows:

Tactic is the determination of the line to be taken by the proletariat during a comparatively short period of the ebb or flow of the movement, of advances or retreat of the revolution; the maintenance of this line by the substitution of new forms of struggle and organization for those that have become out of date, or by the discovery of new watchwords or by the combination of new methods with old, etc. Whereas

⁶ Stalin, "Leninism", p.148

strategy is concerned with such wide purposes as the winning of the war against tsarism or the bourgeoisie, tactic has a narrower aim. Tactic is concerned, not with the war as a whole, but with the fighting of this or that campaign, with the gaining of this or that victory which may be essential during a period of the general revolutionary advance or withdrawal. Tactics are thus parts of strategy, and subordinate thereto.

Marx and Engels in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" laid out the general tactics to be employed:

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.
4. Centralization of credit in the hands of the State.
5. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state.
6. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State.
7. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
8. Equal liability of all to labor. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.

Within the wide variety of tactical variations possible for the Communists, the USSR has employed these tactical variations in four main phases. They are: First, the tactics of Soviet Defense; second, the conduct of Soviet Foreign policy; third, the political tactics of Communism outside the Soviet Union and the Communist-controlled areas; fourth, their economic tactics. All of these are used together, integrated and coordinated for common goals. Their combined tactics permit a wide range of maneuver difficult to coordinate and control at times--the Hungarian revolution, the Yugoslavian and Polish resistance are three recent examples. But the Communists bring to its conduct both experience and energy. At times, they show a virtuosity that enables them to surprise and out-maneuver an enemy who does not understand the flexibility and resourcefulness of which they are capable.

In this "ideal model" of Communism, the Communists, as self appointed leaders of the assumed world revolution of the majority against the

minority, disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forceable overthrow of all existing social conditions. A direct corollary of this assumption is that any means are justified by the ends. The battle cry of the Communists in this "ideal model":

Let the ruling classes tremble at the Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!

A cursory examination of this "ideal model" of Communism will immediately bring to light the reasons for its tremendous appeal to the world over the past one hundred years. It gives every man who is not satisfied with his lot in life a ready target on which to vent his hate and frustration--the capitalists and the ruling class of every society. It promises a Utopia where each is rewarded "according to his needs" and a classless society in which to enjoy these rewards. It expounds a theory of history that explains how to eliminate wars. It appeals to the realist, for the path to this promised land is not an easy one; the path leads through the world revolution of the majority against the minority. Though the path be rocky, this "ideal model" of Communism provides life with meaning for its followers--what better way to die than die fighting for an ideal that promises so much when all you have to offer is a life worth so little. This "ideal model" assures you that your martyrdom will not have been in vain for it provides a class of leaders-- of which you are one-- to continue this struggle to its successful completion. The fact that the revolution will be a success is unquestionable since these conclusions are not based on any invented or discovered principles of a would-be reformer. Rather they are based on actual relations springing from an existing class struggle that is currently underway in the world. Tie all of these promises and incentives up with the most ringing battle cry the

world has ever heard--"You have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!"--and you have a package that dwarfs most others yet offered to mankind. Even the ideals of the French Revolution "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" seem small in comparison. Marx actually achieved a tremendous synthesis between two forces: the urge in modern man to pursue science, wherever it may lead; and a revolutionary tradition with a messianic goal dedicated to the fulfillment on earth of man-as-he-ought-to-be. The fact that this large package does have tremendous appeal is readily attested by another cursory examination of any map of the world that shows the Communist dominated countries today. One of the reasons that we have been losing the ideological battle with Communism is that we have failed to understand, to appreciate, to measure the actual value of this appeal.

Quite often the theoretical design of an airplane, submarine, guided missile, home, or even a society has tremendous appeal to the potential buyer. The logic of choosing one theoretically outstanding system over all the others seems practically unassailable before the first tests have been run on the pilot systems built from the design. Were the new design of a guided missile all that is needed to introduce a new missile to the fleet, what a tremendous saving we could accomplish by eliminating the research and development activities, the expensive testing activities in the fleet, and the countless operational tests that must be given each new weapon. We know that these practical operational tests are necessary in order to bring to light the weaknesses of the system that were not apparent in the initial design. Costly and futile crash programs have demonstrated time and again the futility of introducing an untested product into the fleet. In a similar manner, if we are to uncover the inherent

weaknesses of Communism we must look at more than the theoretical model. We must examine the "practical model" with the same degree of care that we do each new weapon that comes to the fleet. We have to base our judgement on more than words--we must look at the results. The Communists realized this long years ago and they state the problem most explicitly:

Kautsky adopts a typical petty-bourgeois attitude when he expresses the opinion that the mere utterance of a slogan makes a difference. The history of bourgeois democracy pricks this bubble. Bourgeois democrats have voiced, and continue to voice, all possible slogans, this being one of the ways in which they humbug the people. The vital matter is that we should test the sincerity of those who utter slogans, should compare their deeds with their words, that we should not be content with idealist and cheap-jack phraseology, but should find how much actual class content lies behind the words.

With these sage words of advice from Lenin⁷ ringing in our ears, let us turn to the construction of the "practical model" of Communism.

⁷"The Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade" - Lenin

CHAPTER III

THE "PRACTICAL MODEL" OF COMMUNISM-- UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

"from each according to his abilities to each according to his work"

The "practical model" of Communism in Russia originated with the October revolution of 1917. The Bolshevik party, ably led by Lenin, commenced the coup d' etat that resulted in the violent overthrow of the Russian government in November of 1917. This revolution was the result of long years of planning and application by Lenin and his followers of the principles of strategy and tactics described in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party." This revolution remains today as the classic example in the Communist world of how to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Hence, world revolution must be one of the basic features of the "practical" as well as the "ideal" model of Communism.

After 39 years in power, the Bolshevik party (which changed its name to the Communist party in 1952) is no nearer the basic goal set forth in the "ideal model" of Communism than it was the day the revolution began. The creation of a classless society based on the ideal "from each according to his abilities to each according to his needs," and the withering away of the state, is no nearer realization now than it was in 1848 when Marx and Engels first expounded this theory. This fact gives rise to the second basic concept of the practical model of Communism.

Communism is a technique for power per se.

Communism for two generations has been degenerating from a great theory of history, and a great dream of human betterment, into a technique for power. The fact that the state will not wither away anytime soon is best

expressed by Malenkov⁸:

The enemies and vulgarizers of Marxism propounded a theory most pernicious for our cause, the theory of the weakening and withering away of the Soviet state while the capitalist encirclement exists. Smashing and rejecting this foul theory, the party advances and substantiates the thesis....that the country where the revolution has won (Russia) must not weaken, but strengthen its state to the utmost.

That the basic goal of the "ideal model" of Communism will not be reached soon is guaranteed by the conditions Stalin considered necessary to pass from the socialist formula "to everyone according to his labor" to the Communist formula "to everyone....according to his requirements." According to Stalin, three basic prerequisites are required.

1. It is necessary to ensure the uninterrupted growth of production.
2. It is necessary to "elevate" collective forms to the level of public property and to replace commodity circulation by some system of exchange of products.
3. It is necessary to secure such cultural growth of society that all members can select freely a profession and not be shackled for their whole life by the force of the existing division of labor to any one profession.

There are also valid theoretical reasons why this goal can never be reached. These will be pointed out later in the paper. The basic conclusion to be drawn--in practice the primary appeal of the "ideal model" is unattainable. Thus the Communist party of Russia has adopted the strategy of world revolution as their primary technique for gaining power for their primary purpose of world domination.

The role of the Communist party in the "practical model" has changed drastically from that envisioned in the "ideal model". The primary purpose

⁸From Malenkov's keynote address to the XIX Congress of the Communist Party - Moscow, October 5 - 14, 1952

of the Communist party in the "practical model" is to implement and support the decisions of the dictatorship--not of the proletariat--but of the top few leaders of the Communist party. This party, in Russia proper, consisted of about six million members in 1952. Its role in Russia is to support the Communist dictatorship in the same manner that the Nazi party in Germany supported the dictatorship of Hitler. The Communist Party has been eminently successful in carrying out this function. Since the Communist party, both in Russia and throughout the world, is the instrument of power by which world domination is attempted, it is necessary to understand its inherent strength and weaknesses. The basic strength of the Communist party in the "practical model" lies in its mastery of combined tactics.

The use of combined tactics is a basic concept of the "practical model" as well as the "ideal model" of Communism. There are four different planes on which the combined tactics of the Communist party can vary, and each of these offers choices for Communist policy. First, there is the choice of defensive or offensive tactics according to the prevailing situation. Second, there is the series of zones with its center in the heart of the Soviet Union, requiring the adaptation of tactics to both the needs and the possibilities of each area, in terms of geographic remoteness, strategic remoteness, and political remoteness. Third, there is the range of choice between economic, political, and ideological weapons and methods. Fourth, there is the range of choice among various available agents, from the Red Army and the Soviet Foreign Office, through the satellite governments to the Communist parties in the Free World,, and the most efficient intelligence and spy-web in the world. The many combinations possible from these four planes of action involve nothing more complicated than the tactics of amphibious warfare, or the plane-tank-

infantry teamwork of modern war. The combined use of tactics in cold war is not new with the Communist Dictatorship. Their use was demonstrated by Hitler to great effect, and his final defeat does not change the fact that combined tactics contributed enormously to his power.

No system of combined tactics can exist unless there are clearly understood goals--this the "practical model" of Communism has in its single purpose of world revolution. The use of combined tactics demands a clear sense of which available assets are more expendable than others, a common knowledge of the effects to be gained by each available weapon, overall control of the basic strategy of offense and defense, and good communications. All of these require teamwork, training, and discipline--requirements which the Communist party meets admirably. The most obvious basis for teamwork among Communists is the rules of "democratic centralization." If there is no more discussion, but unanimous obedience after a decision, then teamwork follows.

The training the Communists receive is intensive in character. Their leading personnel have had very severe training. They have read and discussed time and again the basic books and teachings of Communism. For years they have been through the mill of party debate about how to work out the correct tactics for new situations. Their knowledge is professional in intensity and as integrated to practice as medical or engineering knowledge.

The discipline of the Communist party results from their common theoretical and practical training. It springs from a common emotional faith in an historic cause in which they believe they have been given the responsibilities and the mission of providing leadership. Finally, it results from the general staff concept of organization which Lenin introduced and Stalin perfected.

The advantages to the Communist party of this professional leadership, emotional faith, and general staff type control of the combined tactics are many. It is extraordinarily easy to outmaneuver the opposition if one has a more flexible but well-coordinated system of tactics and a primary purpose for which these tactics are designed. When the Communists find a political move countered, they shift into military, economic, or propaganda activities. When a move in one area--Greece for instance--is blocked, their next move is in Germany or Korea. When the Soviet is blocked, the next move is taken by satellite governments or by parties in non-Communist countries. They have fully assimilated everything new and effective in political violence that the world has seen this century. None of their weapons is inimitable. But, until we accept the logic of the game as they play it, and learn the matching system of defense, the Communists enjoy a sort of monopoly.

Inherent in the "practical model" of Communism are weaknesses that result from any dictatorship and from the promises of any Utopia. The Communists promise only for the remote future, the economic welfare that many non-Communist countries already enjoy. In the "practical model" there is no promise of personal freedom and freedom of self-direction. The strain imposed on the Communists themselves by dictatorship, tight discipline, and radical shifts of policy and tactics have high costs. These inherent weaknesses and high costs are a basic part of the "practical model" of Communism. The Hungarian and Polish revolts and the present unrest of the satellite countries are the latest products of the permanent crisis of Soviet Communism.

There is one other aspect of the "practical model" of Communism that is a basic tenet. This model requires the foundation of a morality, both

different and superior, in which the end (world revolution) justifies all means. As was most clear in the case of Nazism, any movement that makes totalitarian pretensions, that demands fanatic dogmatism of its supporters, and that sets up values on such an absolute basis that it can then place its tactics on the basis that the end justifies the means, must inevitably oppose and seek to destroy any competing value system--ethical values most of all. No challenge can be so direct to the whole basis of discipline in a totalitarian system as alternative ethics--setting different ends for human action. This is the central meaning of totalitarianism in any form. It produces intolerance of all religions automatically. In the "ideal model" of Communism, intolerance of religion was absolute. In the "practical model", intolerance of religion is not quite absolute--it is allowed just so long as it furthers the ultimate aim of Communism. When in dire straits, and needing the aid of all forces that can bring human energies to a common cause, the Communists have softened their opposition to religion. This occurred in the Soviet Union during World War II, and parallels the use of patriotic movements that can be followed, ridden, or directed.

Thus we see that when we take the Communists' advice and test by "comparing deeds with words" that two altogether different models result. In the past, the differences between these models have not been sufficiently clear in our minds. Before resuming the second half of this battle, let us pause for a moment to consider what happened in a previous "game" this season when the distinction between the models was even less clear.

Within the past year, all members of the Armed Forces signed a pledge to abide by a "Code of Conduct" while in combat or captivity. This code⁹

⁹"POW--the Fight Continues After the Battle"--August 1955--the report of the Secretary of Defense's Advisory Committee on Prisoners of War

was drawn up by a committee composed of outstanding leaders of our nation-- both military and civilian. This code was issued to the Armed Forces by the President of the United States. The fact that a code of conduct was necessary in the first place is an indication of the scope of the ideological war that is raging between Communism and the Free World. This code requires, in effect, that an American continue the fight against Communism to the very end of his life if necessary. This requires a zeal and steadfastness of purpose that can only come from informed and dedicated men.

Our nation has a definite responsibility in obtaining this required devotion. It must ensure that any army it places on a battlefield knows what it is fighting for and, as a corollary, what it is fighting against. This double concept must be as clear in the minds of our men as it is in the minds of their opposite numbers in the Communist camp. Otherwise, no amount of military training can possibly equip our men to fulfill the obligation required by our nation. The fact that our men in the Armed Forces during the Korean War did not have these concepts clearly in mind is documented in the committee report to the President.

CHAPTER IV

THE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF COMMUNISM

What, then, are the primary strengths and weaknesses of Communism revealed by the "ideal" and "practical" models? If we are to win the ideological battle with Communism, we must know the strong points in their line just as accurately as we do the weak ones. Otherwise, we will squander our energies in the "second half" as we did in the first.

A cursory examination of the "ideal model" made earlier in this paper revealed the tremendous ideological appeal of this model to practically any group in the world other than the groups which this model intends to eliminate. The tremendous appeal of this "ideal model" must be recognized as one of the primary strengths of Communism in the world today. This "ideal model" has become more than a philosophy. It has been metamorphosed into a secular religion. It has projected itself into history as an Idea of Man--called Dialectical Man. It is the image of a messiah, who has never incarnated, but around whom the hopes of the elect are centered. This messiah is man-as-he-ought-to-be, as defined, not by rationalists and idealists, but by the hypotheses and criteria of "science." It is the appeal of this model that has kept the recruits knocking at the doors of the Communists for over a hundred years. There are definite weaknesses in this ideal model, but it takes more than a cursory examination to reveal them. This is the model with which the "brain washers" will confront American prisoners of war in any future "police action."

An examination of the "practical model" reveals the following positions of strength in the Communist line:

1. Singleness of purpose--one goal of world revolution.

2. Use of combined tactics under general staff type control.
3. Emotional faith in their cause.
4. Appeal to the intelligentsia and new ruling classes of backward nations--a quick plan of economic reconstruction and with it all the privileges of supreme personal power.
5. High value set on historic theory and rational approach to world's problem--have an assured remedy for every ill.
6. Stable economy--from 1930 had a decade of rapid industrial growth while most other nations in economic stagnation--Free World has yet to prove this cannot happen again.
7. Appeal to colonies as a way out of colonialism.
8. Reward of honest labor by high prestige--medals, prizes, order of hero of socialist labor, etc.
9. Use of "ideal model" of Communism in implementing their "practical model".

In order to discover the weaknesses of the "ideal model", more than a cursory examination is necessary. A close examination of this model reveals a fallacy in one of its basic assumptions. The assumption that the dictatorship of the proletariat would result in a classless society and a withering away of the state is completely fallacious. A classless society assumes that human beings can resolve every question of policy with infallible agreement. Historical and current evidence indicates this assumption is not justified. Assuming that a classless and a stateless society could evolve, the process of evolution (which the Communists claim to have discovered) contradicts the assumption that it could remain in that state for any time. The basic appeal of the "ideal model" rests on this assumption of a classless and stateless society--this ideal has not

been approached in forty years of practice and it is unattainable even theoretically. Here, at the very heart of the "ideal model", lies a fundamental weak point on which to concentrate the ideological attack.

This basic fallacy in the Communists' theory is not the only point which can be attacked in the "ideal model." The assumption that change can occur only through violent revolution is not justified in practice. One of the strongest points of the American system of government is that it allows "peaceful revolution" through the voting process. Examples of this controlled revolution in our nation during the past sixty years are the following: graduated income tax laws, introduction of high inheritance taxes, and the multitude of labor laws. The theory that change can occur only through violent revolution is disproved by American evolution. Only in nations where the voting privilege is unknown or meaningless is revolution necessary to bring about any significant change in the method of government.

Another basic weakness in the "ideal model" is the necessity to abandon all ethical standards of conduct other than "the end justifies the means." This is one of the high costs that a totalitarian nation must pay for its ironbound discipline. No challenge can be so direct to the whole basis of discipline in a totalitarian system as alternative ethics. Here, again, is a fundamental weakness subject to attack in the ideological battle.

Finally, even if it were possible to fill the world with "dialectical men" this "ideal man" would be a frightening and revolting creature from the point of view of the Free World. In the first place he could only be a material man since in the eyes of the Communist a spiritual man or a moral man is no more than an illusion. In the second place, the

"ideal man" could not be primarily an individual but rather a biochemical unit of society whose welfare, happiness, and life's purpose reside in the society. Thirdly, since the needs of this society determine good from evil he would be wholly dependent for such criteria upon the judgment of his leaders as to what those needs may be. The "ideal man" thus emerges as a social puppet, deprived of individual dignity, and incompetent to choose between good and evil. Prototypes of this "ideal society" already exist in nature in the form of the ant colony and the bee hive. The suggestion that we should seek an inspiration in the societies of insects is abysmally stupid.

An examination of the "practical model" reveals the following weaknesses of Communism in the ideological battle:

- a. Communism has degenerated to a technique for power--no possibility of realizing promises of "ideal model".
- b. Permanent crisis of Russian Communism.
- c. Way to the "promised land" leads through violent revolution.
- d. The promised economic welfare for the remote future already enjoyed in many countries.
- e. Their actions based on a specious theory--Communism is no science, for the starting point rests on the assertion of faith in the "Manifesto" which is unchallengeable. The strains produced by experience that contradicts this faith continue to grow.
- f. The inherent disadvantages of dictatorship:
 - (1) Strong internal police force--iron curtain to outside world.
 - (2) Mass arrests of minorities.
 - (3) Public has no voice in policy--no way to control man when when policy not in accord with the desires of the majority.
 - (4) If dictator makes a mistake, no method of control--for him to remain in power he must silence the critics.

CHAPTER V

AMERICA'S PURPOSE

Now that the "ideal" and "practical" models of Communism have been constructed and the basic ideological strengths and weaknesses of Communism discerned, it is possible to see what we are fighting against. We must know more than this, however, before establishing a suitable "measure of effectiveness" with which to help select the various alternate courses of action available in this battle. In a battle of this magnitude, knowing the enemy's strong and weak points, while necessary, is not sufficient. We must have a clear concept of the Free World weapons available in this battle--we must understand our aims, limitations, and capabilities. Before we can plot our course we must know our destination.

Abraham Lincoln stated the problem clearly.

If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do and how to do it.

Nearly a century later the question "What is America's purpose?" is still not answered. President Eisenhower stated in a speech made in Philadelphia on 1 November 1956 that our greatest purpose is "to secure a just and lasting peace." It would appear that this is not a primary purpose unless war--not slavery--is mankind's greatest enemy. This statement of purpose by the President is a repudiation of America's traditional rallying cry first voiced by Patrick Henry. "Give me liberty or give me death." It is debatable that a singleness of purpose is possible or desirable in a nation of free peoples. If a singleness of purpose is possible, then one of the most important contributions our nation can make in repulsing the Communist campaign for world domination is to find this purpose. If a singleness of purpose is impossible for our Republic,

then this fact should be clearly recognized in our conduct of the ideological battle with Communism. Although America's long-range purpose may be obscure, our nation's immediate purpose in this ideological battle is clear--STOP COMMUNISM.

Before proceeding with the search for America's long-range purpose, let us pause for a moment to heed some sage advice extracted from the address "The Protection of Freedom"¹⁰ delivered by Mr. Herbert Hoover:

Among the delusions offered us by fuzzy-minded people is that imaginary creature, the common man. It is dinned into us that this is the century of the common man. The whole idea is another cousin of the Soviet proletariat. The uncommon man is to be whittled down to size. It is the negation of individual dignity and a slogan of mediocrity and uniformity. The common man dogma may be of use as a vote-getting apparatus. It supposedly proves the humility of demagogues.

The greatest strides of human progress have come from uncommon men and women. You have perhaps heard of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, or Thomas Edison. They were humble in origin, but that was not their greatness.

The humor of it is that when we get sick, we want an uncommon doctor. When we go to war, we yearn for an uncommon general or admiral. When we choose the president of a university, we want an uncommon educator.

The imperative need of this nation at all times is the leadership of the uncommon men or women. We need men and women who cannot be intimidated, who are not concerned with applause meters, nor those who sell tomorrow for cheers today.

Such leaders are not to be made like queen bees. America recognizes no frozen social stratifications which prevent the free rise of every individual. They must rise by their own merits.

Many leaders of our nation have come to recognize the urgent need for a deeper understanding of America's purpose in this battle with Communism. Let us heed past President Hoover's advice and examine what some of these "uncommon men" have to say on the subject.

¹⁰Delivered by Mr. Hoover at the reception given by the State of Iowa on his 80th birthday, West Branch, Iowa, August 10, 1954

Mr. Arthur Larson, /1/ present director of the U. S. Information Agency pointed out some of the difficulties associated with the problem.

We are not setting out to convert the world to our own ideas and to remake others in our own image--as are the Communists. Rather we are trying in every possible way to help other countries realize their own potentials within the framework of their own cultures. To do this while achieving genuine comprehension (not imitation) of our own culture and aspirations by people with entirely different economic, philosophical, and political backgrounds, is a task of utmost difficulty.

General Omar N. Bradley /2/, while chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, had this to say concerning the ideological battle with Communism.

To be anti-communist we must be consistently and courageously pro-democratic in our preachments and practices throughout the world. We must stand ready to champion human rights whenever they come in conflict with property, privilege, or prejudice as readily as we would defend those rights from aggression and oppression. I am convinced that the United States must stand plainly and honestly before the entire world and say to the free peoples everywhere that the measure of democracy is a man's personal freedom--that human rights must prevail against the state. For only so long as freedom remains a force for human welfare, so long will men cherish freedom in their hearts and defend it with their lives. From this fact is derived the strength of our leadership in the world. From it, likewise, must that leadership be sustained.

Mr. Bernard M. Baruch, one of America's "elder statesmen" and advisor to several presidents, in the essay, "A Few Kind Words for Uncle Sam" /2/ made this comment:

Often, Americans are accused of not knowing for what we fight. Yet ours has been a consistent--though perhaps inadequate--war aim. We fight not to implant ourselves on foreign shores, but to come home; not to remain warlike, but to return to war-hating; not to impose our will upon others, but so we can continue governing ourselves as we wish.

Concerning American ideals in the world today Mr. Baruch said,

The challenge of the American adventure seems as fresh today as when this country was founded. What does the American adventure symbolize? It is the belief that the ordinary man and woman can govern themselves. To contradict the theory of divine right of kings, America brought forth its doctrine of the divine right of man--that 'all men are created equal...with certain inalienable rights.' Today we still champion this cause of popular government

against the oldest dogmas, that government cannot be left to the people, but must be entrusted to the benevolence or tyranny of an enthroned elite. The American system hasn't produced perfection. It has brought people further along in their pursuit of happiness than any other system. More important than any material benefits, the people still hold the power to change anything and everything. Nothing anyone would propose cannot be done by the people, if persuaded of its wisdom. They can revoke any law, fine any official, tax the rich, succor the poor. Under a police state, once imposed, the people lose all ability to determine their future... Equality before the law and change through the law are the two sides of the American coin. Americans can make no greater contribution to mankind than to demonstrate that these qualities will survive as the 'last best hope on earth.'

Justice William O. Douglas in an essay entitled "Dialectic Materialism" /2/ points out two basic differences between the philosophy of the Communists and our own. The first fundamental difference is that under the Communist system the political power of the nation is vested in one group only. This of necessity leads to a police state. The second basic difference pointed out is the attempt of the Communists to pour men into one mold. Once again this demands a police state because man was born for freedom and not for slavery. Concerning these differences Justice Douglas states:

They pose problems for us on both the domestic and foreign fronts. They make it necessary that we fashion articles of our own faith and adopt a positive aggressive program to combat the ideology with which the Soviets bombarded the world... Success is assured if we are true to ourselves. We have a system which, though far from perfect, is strong with idealism. It gives elbow room for men of all races and all beliefs. It is vital and dynamic. And it works. We have the means of shaping the world in our pattern. If we do, freedom will be assured all men. The decision is in the hands of this generation. It is a challenge to our political competence. For western civilization it is the greatest challenge of all time.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in a statement made this April before the ~~Senate's~~ Special Committee to study the foreign aid program clarified America's role in the world today even further. Pertinent

parts of this statement are quoted:

Our nation accepts military burdens not as an expression of our national aspirations but as an elemental necessity.

Programs of military defense alone, however, cannot assure that the Free World will be maintained intact. There is also a threat to future independence and freedom where moderate leaders despair of being able to lift their nation out of hopeless poverty and stagnation....Concerning this point, President Eisenhower in his second inaugural address stated: 'From the deserts of North Africa to the islands of the South Pacific, one third of all mankind has entered upon an historic struggle for a new freedom; freedom from grinding poverty.'...It is in our own direct self-interest that these new nations should succeed in the historic struggle of which the President spoke.

Our concern stems from the historic conception of the American people as to the role of their nation in the world. The American people believe in a moral law and that men and nations are bound by that law. As George Washington said in his farewell address, 'Religion and morality are indispensable supports of our free government. And of moral and religious precepts, one of the most basic is the brotherhood of man.'

That is why our people have never even tried to make their nation into an oasis of prosperity in a world desert of human misery.

Another aspect of our faith is belief in the dignity and worth of the human individual everywhere. All men, our Declaration of Independence said, are endowed with inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

That is why we hate a system which treats men as mere bits of matter to be made into the grinding cogs of some super-state machine. That is why we crave liberty for all men everywhere, and we want to protect liberty where it is, and to see it restored where it is lost.

Our founders did not see their experiment as a purely selfish enterprise. They had the courage to launch their principles into the world. What they did become known throughout the world as 'the great American Experiment.' Abraham Lincoln said of our Declaration of Independence that it meant 'Liberty not only to the people of this country but hope for the world for all future time.' It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all men.

Because we still retain that sense of mission, we are eager that other lands and other peoples should know the blessings of liberty.

President Eisenhower, in his State of the Union message this year, had the following to say about the path of America in the world today.

The State of the Union at the opening of the 85th Congress, continues to vindicate the wisdom of the principles on which the Republic is founded. Proclaimed in the Constitution of the Nation and in many of our historic documents, and founded in devout religious convictions these principles enunciate:

First: A vigilant regard for human liberty.

Second: A wise concern for human welfare.

and Third: A ceaseless effort for human progress...

The appeal of these principles is universal, lighting fires in the souls of men everywhere. We shall continue to uphold them against those who deny them, and in counseling with our friends.

At home the application of these principles to the complex problems of our national life has brought us to an unprecedented peak in our economic prosperity and has exemplified in our way of life the enduring human values of mind and spirit.

When our forefathers prepared the immortal document that proclaimed our independence, they asserted that every individual is endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights. As we gaze back through history to that date it is clear that our nation has striven to live up to this declaration, applying it to nations as well as to individuals.

Today we proudly assert that the Government of the U. S. is still committed to this concept, both in its activities at home and abroad. The purpose is divine, but the implementation is human.

Our Country and its government have made mistakes--human mistakes. They have been of the head--not of the heart.

And it is still true that the great concept of the dignity of all men, alike created in the image of the Almighty, has been the compass by which we have tried and are trying to steer our course.

In one of the most thought-provoking books I have had the opportunity to read, Lecomte du Nouÿ, an internationally known French scientist, in his book Human Destiny /3/, traces the evolution of life on the earth from its earliest signs in the pre-Cambrian period of nearly 1800 million years ago through the recent period. He advances the thesis that the

criteria of evolution during all these periods has been liberty. He points out that ever since the first rudiments of life on this earth that the only consistent criterion for selecting the individuals destined to insure the continuity of the branch from which Man evolved has been that of liberty. He points out that we are at the dawn of a new phase of evolution as far as man is concerned. He advances the thesis that evolution of man no longer continues on the physiological or anatomical plane but on the spiritual and moral plane. In the words of Lecomte du Noüy;

Now what characterizes man, as MAN, is precisely the presence in him of abstract ideas, of moral ideas, of spiritual ideas, and it is only of these that he can be proud. They are as real as his body and confer to this body a value of importance which it would be far from possessing without them...it must be demonstrated that every man has a part to play (in evolution) and that he is free to play it or not; that he is a link in a chain and not a wisp of straw swept along by a torrent; that, in brief, human dignity is not a vain word, and that when man is not convinced of this and does not try to attain this dignity, he lowers himself to the level of the beast.

With the help of the navigational aids contained in the statements of some of America's "uncommon men," by steering our course with the compass proposed by President Eisenhower, the destination of determining the long-range purpose of America emerges from the sea on the far horizon. It is proposed that the only long-range purpose consistent with America's Christian heritage and with the long-range evolution of man as a moral being is that of achieving individual liberty.

There is a paradox connected with this purpose which becomes evident upon a little observation. The one single purpose is to give each individual the opportunity to develop to the fullest extent of his abilities in a direction of his own choosing subject to minimum moralistic constraints. It is because of this paradox of many possible purposes arising from one that freedom for a man imposes a tremendous responsibility upon

him--it imposes the responsibility for the individual to maintain freedom and the rights that go with it not only for himself but for all others in that society. It is from this paradox that the equation, individual liberty = freedoms + responsibilities, arises.

It is well to examine some of the limitations imposed by this choice of purpose. The desire and inherent right of man to do things in his own way and not to accept a dictated solution, is our strength, but the lack of coordinated direction which results from this freedom is our weakness. In view of the magnitude of the present dangers facing the Free World, unity and motivation is essential. In our present danger it is essential that people everywhere be united in the fight against Communism. The real strength of the Free World lies in the collective will of the people to remain free.

CHAPTER VI

MEASURE OF EFFECTIVENESS

Before proceeding to examine some of the various feasible courses of action available to the Free World in this ideological battle with Communism, it is necessary to set up some criterion by which the various courses of action can be compared. It is necessary to establish a "measure of effectiveness"--a sort of a yard stick--with which to measure a given course of action. When this is attempted, one of the basic problems confronting America in this ideological battle is brought to light. It has become apparent that the men of the Free World must be able to explain the ideals of individual liberty and freedom in a manner that will motivate peoples everywhere with the force of a dynamic ideology. The Communists have made outstanding gains in this battle because they know what they believe, why they believe it, and can explain what they believe to people in understandable terms. The peoples of the Free World, conversely, have many times been incoherent and lacked the verbal ability to explain or defend the very ideals which are the strength of the Free World.

One of the clearest explanations of individual liberty that I have seen is contained in a pamphlet entitled "Militant Liberty" /4/. In this publication ten basic freedoms and the corresponding responsibilities are listed. (See Table I.) In order to show the scope and direction of individual liberty within a given society, six different areas of the society are examined. These six areas are: the economic order, the social order, discipline, religion, civics (use of voting privilege) and education. By examining these areas of society within a given nation and by assigning a value to each area from an arbitrary scale with one end of

TABLE I

The Basic Freedoms Include:

The Basic Responsibilities Include

1. Freedom of religion, speech, press, and assembly.
2. Freedom to choose leaders by personal secret ballot and the right to petition for grievances.
3. Freedom of movement at home and abroad.
4. Freedom for educational, social, political and economic opportunity with equal protection under law.
5. Freedom to own property and to contract in personal affairs.
6. Freedom to choose one's own occupation and to bargain with employers and employees.
7. Freedom to compete in production and to bargain for goods and services in a free market.
8. Freedom from arbitrary government regulation and control.
9. Freedom from arbitrary search, seizure or detention of person, or property and the right to a speedy, public trial by impartial jury.
10. Freedom from torture, cruel, unusual or degrading punishment or treatment.

1. Responsibility for tolerance of the beliefs of others.
2. Responsibility to vote conscientiously and to maintain active interest in civil government.
3. Responsibility to respect rights and customs of others.
4. Responsibility to assure equal opportunity and to further individual and national well being.
5. Responsibility to employ and conserve resources and to conduct personal affairs for legitimate and productive purposes.
6. Responsibility to contribute useful production and to resolve differences on a fair and just basis.
7. Responsibility for fair and ethical business practices.
8. Responsibility to guard against the granting of arbitrary powers to government.
9. Responsibility of all citizens to assist, uphold, and insure justice, law, and order.
10. Responsibility to maintain vigilance against illegal, unfair or injurious practices.

the scale representing individual liberty and the other end of the scale representing the totalitarian state, it is possible to arrive at a relative standing of nations on this scale. From these concepts a measure of effectiveness to be used in the ideological battle with Communism can be constructed.

Figure 1 is a plot of individual freedom versus individual responsibilities.¹¹ From this plot it is noted that the Communist's position of strength is represented by the lower left corner and that the Free World's position of strength (maximum individual liberty) is represented by the upper right corner.

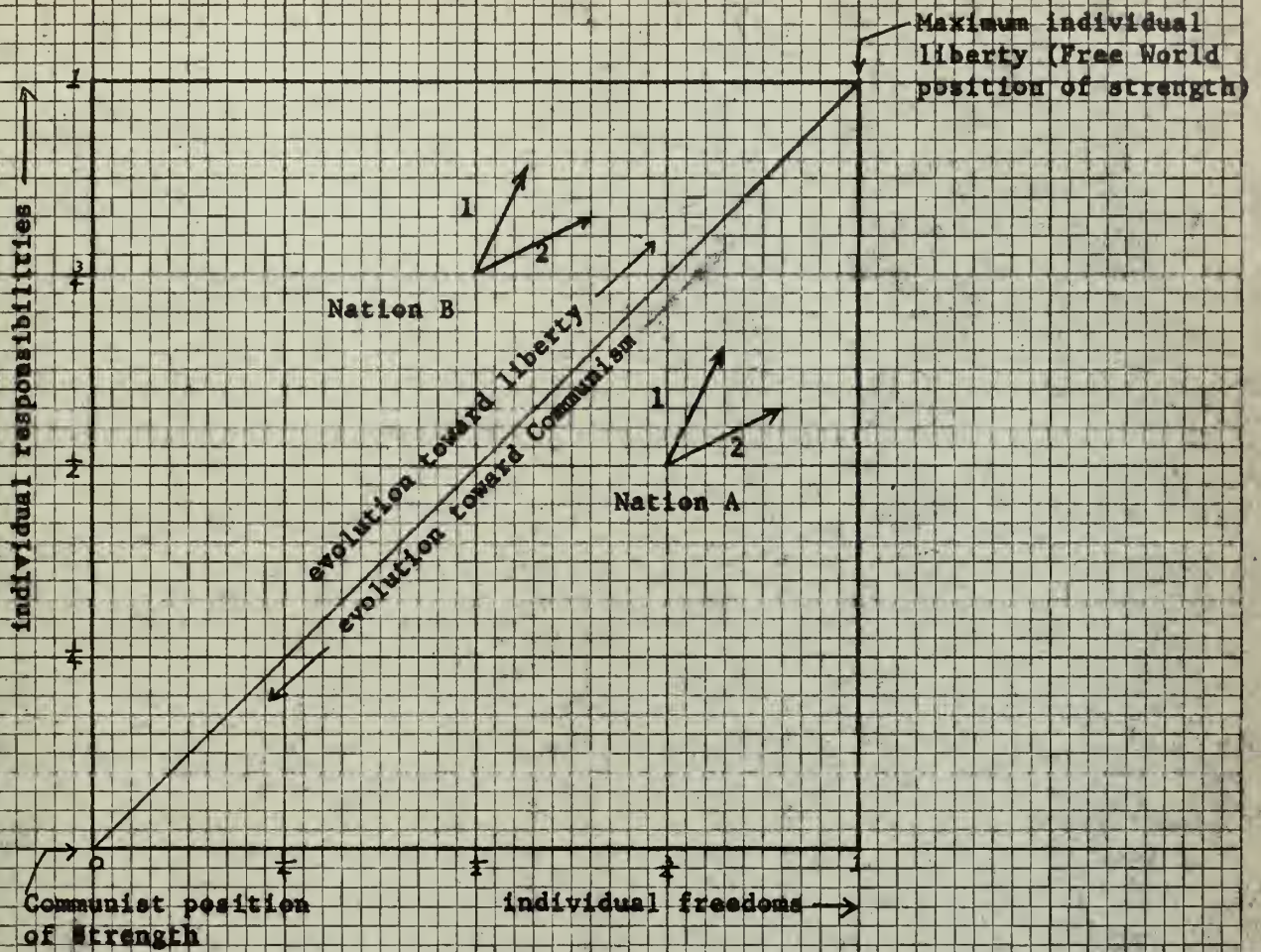
Table II is used to locate the position of a given nation on Figure 1. An example for two nations has been worked out to illustrate the use of Table II.

Once a country's position on Figure 1 is determined, then the expected direction of movement for a given course of action can be estimated. If the expected direction of movement is toward the Free World's position of strength, then that course of action is a feasible one to use in the ideological battle with Communism.

It is noted that each course of action for a given country can be represented by a vector whose origin is at that country's position on Figure 1. From this observation it follows that the most effective course of action for a given country is that course whose vector comes closest to the Free World's position of strength. This is the measure of effectiveness chosen by which the various feasible courses of action can be compared.

¹¹The ordinate in Figure 1 might better be a quantity vaguely describable as the opposite of self-interest or altruism. An ordinate of this nature was not used due to the difficulty of measuring such quantities in a practical manner

Figure 1



Nation A		Nation B		
Free.	Resp.	Free.	Resp.	
.7	.5	.5	.8	Discipline
.8	.3	.4	.6	Religion
.6	.5	.6	.7	Civics
.9	.7	.4	.8	Education
.7	.6	.6	.9	Social order
.8	.4	.5	.7	Economic order
<u>Total</u>	4.5	3.0	4.5	
<u>Average</u>	.75	.5	.75	

Table II

As an example of the use of this measure of effectiveness, two different courses of action are represented by vectors (1) and (2) for nations "A" and "B" in Figure 1. For nation "A" the course of action represented by vector (1) is the more effective while for nation "B" the course of action represented by vector (2) is the more effective.

CHAPTER VII

SHIFTING TO THE OFFENSIVE

Historians of the future will marvel most of all at the non-resistance of those who had the most to lose.¹²

If America is to lead the Free World to victory in this ideological battle with Communism, our nation must shift from the stumbling defense of the "first half" to a new and unexpected offense in the "second half." Our strategy in this half is clear--we must hit in the center of the line where he is weakest. We have seen four basic fallacies at the very center of the Communists' ideals. The four basic weaknesses which must be hit again and again are the following:

- a. The fallacy that the dictatorship of the proletariat would result in a classless society and the withering away of the state.
- b. The fallacy that change can occur only through violent revolution.
- c. The lack of any ethical standards of conduct other than "the end justifies the means."
- d. The revolting nature of the Communist's "dialectical man."

In scotching any rumor or exposing any lie, one of the most effective known weapons is simply to produce the facts and let the individual do the judging. Admiral C. Turner Joy, who probably had to listen to more Communist lies than any other American Naval officer stated, /5/

The simple fact is that with all respect to the military power of the Free World, Truth is Communism's most dangerous enemy. Communism knows this, and therefore has become expert at fencing with Truth.

¹² General George Van Horn Moseley (commenting on the decline of the Republic of the United States)

Further on in his book Admiral Joy commented,

Americans find it difficult to visualize a breed of men who fight Truth at every turn, not just occasionally, but always and repeatedly. Yet, the Communists are such a breed. Nothing is so perilous to their dark designs as the full, unveiled Truth. By whatever means are most effective, they assault Truth. Indeed, dedicated as they are to the ascendancy of the greatest lie of history, they can do no other.

Education of the American people of the strength, weakness, and fallacies of Communism is considered to be an absolute requirement if America is to assume its full responsibilities in leading this ideological battle against Communism. One of the basic tenets of any military campaign is to know your enemy. In this ideological battle the American people must recognize the difference in an unattainable ideal and a dictatorship which has degenerated into a technique for power.

Knowing our enemy, while necessary, is not enough. Americans must comprehend and be able to explain to all peoples of the Free World the dynamic ideology proclaimed in the Constitution and Declaration of Independence of this nation--an ideology based on devout religious convictions of the dignity of man--an ideology whose aim is to achieve individual liberty for all men.

Too long, now, have we been concerned with the brush fires caused by the varied display of tactics by the Russians. We have concentrated the vast majority of our effort in combatting these tactics-- leaving the initiative up to our opponent. Too little effort has been devoted to comprehending and combatting the basic strategy and purposes set up in the Communist's "ideal model." Armed with the knowledge of exactly what we are fighting and equipped with the most dynamic ideology yet produced on this earth, let us examine some feasible courses of action available to us.

One course of action that we can, and must exploit is to document the idea that America is trying to strengthen the nations of the Free World while Communism is trying to subjugate them. We must establish conclusively in the minds of men that increasing the strength of the free nations, individually and collectively, is an ultimate goal of a society where the individual is supreme. Conversely we must document the Communist desire for world domination-- the desire to control, then eliminate, all national aspirations. The Communists are well aware of the appeal of this course of action in a world where the forces of nationalism are so strong. They have attempted--with quite a bit of success--to label us as an imperialistic nation and to sell the world that America is intent on world domination. Their propaganda is always couched in the future tense--what America is going to do--for the simple reason they are trying to document a lie. The facts do not support them. The recent Hungarian revolt against Communist domination exploded once and for all this "big lie" of Communism. We must sell the world on the idea that any action which strengthens Communism weakens individual liberty and thereby reduces the strength of any free nation.

A second course of action which is available and necessary in this world wide ideological battle is to give the world something other than Communism to believe in. Nearly a hundred years ago Abraham Lincoln said of our Declaration of Independence that it meant

Liberty not only to the people of this country but hope for the world for all future time.

It has only been since the end of World War II, however, that we have come to realize just how true this statement is. We have now reached the point in history where it is necessary for us to export these ideas if we are to have any hope of maintaining liberty even in our own nation. It

is for this reason that the concept of "Militant Liberty"--mentioned previously in this paper--has become necessary in the Free World. We now recognize the need to set forth the basic principles of a free society which can be readily explained and understood by peoples anywhere in the world.

Recognizing that the value of individual liberty to a starving man approaches zero rather rapidly, a third course of action proposed is to document the fact that America is both capable and willing to assist mankind in his historic struggle for a new freedom--"freedom from grinding poverty." The Communists' swan song makes the promise of a relatively quick economic reconstruction without mentioning the high cost of dictatorship that must be paid for this aid.

In this field America can best capture the imagination of the world by deeds of accomplishment--not by promises for a future that never arrives. What are some specific courses of action that have been proved in the past that stand ready for use in the future? In one of the most decisive victories yet scored over Communism, President Magsaysay of the Philippine Republic pointed the way to Free World victory over Communism. He defeated Communism and won the love of his people by fighting the poverty and state corruption that had enabled Communism to spread. The death of President Magsaysay was a great blow to his nation and all of the Free World--we must not forget the lesson he has taught us. In our own hemisphere Puerto Rico provides another living example of what can be done to help a country help itself. President Munoz, with his now famous "Operation Bootstrap," quadrupled his country's income and transformed it from a pesthole to a shining exhibit of democracy and free enterprise in action. A final course of action in this field that offers promise of success which has not received much publicity is the use of operations research firms to

assist backward nations. One firm alone--Arthur D. Little, Inc. of Cambridge, Massachusetts--has done a notable job in assisting seven countries to solve social and economic problems. A basic reason pointed out for this success is the fact that when foreign governments pay for advice, they are usually willing to accept it.

In implementing our foreign aid program, we must constantly emphasize the idea that America is trying to strengthen the nations of the Free World--not to subjugate them as is Communism.

Another course of action that warrents investigation in the ideological battle with Communism is that of providing hope of liberation to the satellite nations and to the freedom-loving peoples behind the iron curtain of Russia itself. In the publication How the Soviet System Works,/6/ issued by the Harvard Project on Soviet Social System, an important distinction between loyalty in a totalitarian state and a free state is noted.

It should be kept in mind the political vulnerabilities of a totalitarian state are different than those of a democracy. The stability of a democratic country depends upon the loyalty of its citizens, and their loyalty depends largely on the extent to which they feel the state provides, or will provide, the basic satisfactions to which they are entitled. The proposition tends to be reversed in a Communist dictatorship. Here the loyalty of the citizen is dependent upon the stability of the system. So long as the citizen thinks the system is stable he must perforce give his loyalty, or at any rate a reasonable facsimile thereof.

During the Hungarian Revolution and the Egyptian crisis of last year, the world witnessed a fantastic spectacle. Russia offered thousands of "volunteers" contingent only upon Egypt's request for them. Within the same week America had to turn down the Hungarian request for help and in effect announced that no real help would be given to Hungary. We were forced to admit that we did not know how to help effectively in a peoples

revolt against Communism. We tacitly admitted that coexistence with Communism is the best we can hope for. If we are to have any hopes of success in this ideological battle with Communism, our sights must be set higher than this. In his Christmas Message of 1956, Pope Pius XII pointed out the fallacies of attempted coexistence with Communism by calling the idea a "deceptive illusion." The editorial in the March 18, 1957 issue of "Life Magazine" pointed out that Hungarian freedom went friendless because the world was surprised by a demonstration that some people still value freedom above life. Yet our nation must know that freedom only exists in those lands where the bravest and best young men have thought it better to die than to lose that freedom. If we are to assume the initiative in this battle with Communism, we cannot afford to be surprised by a people's revolt for individual liberty. We must encourage such action and support it wherever and whenever it occurs.

If we are to win this ideological battle with Communism, we must strengthen our spiritual training and stand up for what we believe. There are many direct conflicts between the Communists' ideology and that of the Free World. To assume the initiative in this battle we must emphasize these differences and make our position clear. One of the most basic differences is in the concept of man himself. The Communists preach that man is born to serve the state--thus they are willing to sacrifice the present to a future which never comes. Our nation, on the other hand, was founded on the belief that the measure of all things in history remain every man, the individual, the image of God. This being true, we condemn as false any doctrine of progress which makes one generation a mere steppingstone to the next. The Communists have ridiculed all religions from the first writings of Marx, for they realized that no challenge can be

so direct to the whole basis of discipline in a totalitarian system as alternative ethics. History indicates that the most effective basis for developing strong ethics is a vital religion. If America is to lead the Free World to victory in this ideological battle with Communism, we must be filled with idealism and have a great vision of the future. Faith is as important as our arms or riches. It is our real weapon.

We must be proud of our heritage and eager to join the battle in the cause which history has picked us to lead. In America today, we have a freedom and power that more and more confirm each other. This is the newest thing in the world, the first fulfillment of all the dreams of all the revolutions. The time to prove how men can live is now!

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APPENDIX I

CRITIQUE OF ANALYSIS

The object of this appendix is to mention some problems that were brought to light in this thesis but which are beyond the scope of the present analysis.

In an economic sense, the "ideal model" of Communism is described by the phrase "from each according to his abilities to each according to his needs." The question of who should determine a man's "needs" in this "ideal" society is as yet unanswered. Until this problem can be resolved, it is believed that some form of dictatorship is necessary to determine such needs. This would indicate that, for this reason alone, a classless society is impossible to achieve.

It is noted that both the "ideal" and "practical" models of Communism constructed in this thesis are essentially static models. They are static in that neither of the models provide for any basic change of purpose of Communism--they both provide for change only in tactics. To date the Communists have maintained a consistency of purpose that would substantiate these models; however, it is conceivable that forces both inside and outside the Communist countries could cause a basic change in mission. This problem is discussed in great detail in The Dynamics of Soviet Society./7/.

In this thesis the problem of self-interest was alluded to, but it was not investigated. It is felt that the problem of self-interest is a fundamental problem which is unresolved by either the Communists or the Free World. Until this problem can be resolved, it is unlikely that the "ideal model" of Communism could be approached even if the Communists dominated the world, for the reason that "ideal" Communism is essentially only a form of cooperative self-interest.

This analysis is concerned with determining feasible courses of action with which to combat Communism in this ideological battle. The courses of action investigated are broad in scope. In general, the methods of implementing these courses of action are not discussed. It is recognized that the methods used in carrying out these various courses of action are of primary concern in this battle. It is felt that an investigation of implementation of each broad course of action could well be a study in itself. Such an investigation, while necessary, is beyond the scope of this analysis. It is recognized that the method of implementation must be considered before it is possible to apply the measure of effectiveness previously described to a specific nation.

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